

Human Trafficking in the United States: Citizen Empathy & Awareness

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by

Kristin E. Silver

The Ohio State University
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Thesis Committee

Advisor: Sarah T. Boysen, Department of Psychology
Thomas Nygren, Department of Psychology
Yana Hashamova, Department of Slavic & East European Languages and Literatures

“Although the world is full of suffering, it is also
full of the overcoming of it.”
~Helen Keller

In Memoriam
George M. Silver

Dedicated to
Mom, Dad, and Charlotte

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Please address correspondence to:

Kristin E. Silver

kristinsilver@yahoo.com

or

silver.51@osu.edu

Abstract

Trafficking in human beings, or modern slavery, provides billions of dollars in revenue for transnational criminal groups and results in suffering for millions of victims. This is an issue that has recently garnered national media attention, but there are only limited data on its scope and nature within the United States, and no known data are available on layperson knowledge of or attitudes towards trafficked people. The objective of this study was two-fold: to gauge the American public's knowledge of human trafficking as a human rights violation and public health crisis and to gather insight into empathy and attributions towards foreign women forced into prostitution. The study used responses to vignettes to assess attitudes towards women involved in various forms of commercial sexual activity. The vignette portrayed a fictitious woman in prostitution ("Ana") and had two independent variables: citizenship and consent. Ana was either foreign (Ukrainian) or domestic (American), and her engagement was either voluntary (sex work) or involuntary (sex trafficking).

Participants were 223 volunteers recruited from OSU undergraduate psychology courses. Participants completed various self-report measures: the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (assessing trait empathy), the Belief in a Just World Questionnaire, the Attitudes toward Prostitution Scale, the Attitudes toward Rape Victims Scale, and the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Participants also completed a pilot survey designed to measure knowledge of human trafficking in the United States.

As predicted, empathy was highest for trafficked women, regardless of citizenship status. Trafficked foreign women received the highest empathy overall, and American prostitutes received the least. Empathy for Ana was strongly associated with a personal desire to help her, a belief in the government's responsibility to help her, and interpersonal empathy. People with less

empathy for Ana had a higher acceptance of rape myths and more stereotyped attitudes toward prostitutes. Activity in one's religious community was also predictive of empathy for Ana and a personal desire to help her. The behavior of trafficked American women was considered significantly more blameworthy than the behavior of trafficked foreign women. Participants endorsed multiple myths and misconceptions concerning trafficking, and the majority of the sample did not know that there were documented cases of human trafficking in Columbus, Ohio.

As this is the first study of its kind, and empathy has empirically grounded links to prosocial behavior, this line of research may have implications for preventative efforts, information campaigns, social support towards survivors of human trafficking, and increased citizen activism and awareness concerning this global calamity.

Introduction

Combating violence and discrimination against women may be the superlative moral challenge of the 21st century (Kristof & WuDunn, 2009). Gender inequality takes many forms, dependent on zeitgeist and location, but its eradication is widely acknowledged as imperative for social and economic progress, public health, and human rights (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; The United Nations Millennium Development Goals Declaration, 2000). The extent of violence perpetrated against women is substantial in both scope and magnitude, with the most severe forms including, but not limited to, child sexual abuse, rape, dowry deaths, genital mutilation, acid throwing, and female infanticide (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002).

One form of gender-based violence that has garnered attention in recent years is the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation (e.g. Logan, Walker & Hunt, 2009; Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). Human trafficking—often confused with smuggling—is a complex and controversial phenomenon that is not well understood, falling within the contexts of both global migration and exploitation. As Schauer and Wheaton (2006) explain, human trafficking is “poorly defined, differentially and intermittently quantified, and handicapped by obsolete legal codes and a sexist prostitution enforcement paradigm” (p. 146). Despite debate over how to define and quantify human trafficking, the *United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* adopted in Palermo, Italy, in 2000, provides the most commonly accepted definition:

“‘Trafficking in persons’ shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability

or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs” (United Nations, 2000).

It is estimated that millions of people are living in conditions of slavery today, but these approximations vary widely: the International Labor Organization estimates that there are 12.3 million people in forced labor, bonded labor, and commercial sexual servitude (2009), while Bales estimates that over twenty seven million people are living in conditions of slavery (Bales, 2005). The paucity of empirical data on human trafficking is widely acknowledged, however (e.g. Zhang, 2009).

Cases of human trafficking have been documented in most countries, but certain world regions are considered disproportionately affected. It is believed that the majority of people trafficked for sexual exploitation come from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe, and that the majority of those in bonded labor live in India (Kara, 2009). Trafficking is identified as the second largest criminal industry in the world, and is the fastest growing (US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, 2009). There is not yet an understanding of how many people are trafficked within the United States, due to the illegal and clandestine nature of trafficking activities, but conservative estimates are around 50,000 (Bales & Soodalter, 2009). It is considered a significant problem—particularly the issue of children and youth being forced into the sex trade (e.g. Williamson & Prior, 2009).

Slavery and trafficking are considered global problems, with a multitude of causes and moderating variables, including the modern phenomenon of globalization, government corruption, organized crime, the high demand for cheap labor, and the after-effects of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s (for a detailed discussion, see Bales, 1999, 2005; Kara, 2009; Zimmerman & Watts, 2007. For a discussion of the relations between organized crime and human trafficking, see Shelley, Picarelli & Corpora, 2003; or see Glenny, 2008. Hodge (2008) provides a succinct overview of transnational sexual trafficking into the United States, including a discussion of the recruitment, transport, and harboring of victims, as well as the role of organized crime). Women and girls are thought to represent the vast majority of those trafficked for sexual exploitation (US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, 2009), and women trafficked for other types of labor, such as domestic servitude or agricultural work, are highly vulnerable to sexual assault as well (Kara, 2009; Zimmerman & Watts, 2007).

Force, fraud, and coercion are used throughout the world to exploit vulnerable people for profit. To end human rights violations such as trafficking, the public must be aware of the occurrence and deem it worthy of attention. Empathy for victims is an important component of this. Yet, due to the nature of trafficking in human beings and its identification as a controversial and complex topic, as well as its association with organized criminal syndicates, data collection has proved difficult for researchers, who often cannot ensure protection for victims or do not have adequate human and financial resources (Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Zimmerman & Watts, 2007).

Health Effects of Human Trafficking*

As representative empirical data are lacking on the health effects of trafficking, the literature exploring the psychological and medical sequelae in women within other exploited or marginalized populations can be aggregated to present a rough estimate of the health consequences of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The spheres of marginalization and vulnerability include migrant or exploited laborers; refugees; people involved in street-level prostitution; victims of domestic and/or intimate partner violence; tortured people; and rape victims (Zimmerman & Watts, 2007). Other areas within the literature deserving of consideration include the results of stigmatization; a society's endorsement of rape myth; prejudice towards immigrants; the assimilation and language difficulties of immigrants; levels of victim empathy; and traumatic stress. The fact that all these categories are contraindicated by gender is of substantial importance (Zimmerman & Watts, 2007). However, a discussion of each sphere of marginalization or vulnerability is beyond the scope of this paper.

An examination of the sex work literature provides evidence that prostitution itself has deleterious health effects for those providing sexual services, regardless of the consensual nature of involvement. Violence is considered the norm for women in prostitution, and multiple studies have reported on other adverse effects (e.g. Roxburgh, Degenhardt, Copeland & Larance, 2008; Williamson & Folaron, 2003). According to a review by Rekart (2005), sex workers are exposed to harms so grim, such as drug use, disease, violence, discrimination, and exploitation, that

* Author's note: As the majority of those trafficked for sexual exploitation are believed to be women and girls, my emphasis will be on the literature surrounding forced prostitution and its inherent sexual violence. Additionally, media reports and the majority of research neglects domestic trafficking and trafficking for forced labor. The focus of this study and my own research interests are likely an artifact of this, and because I understand human trafficking within the broader human rights agenda of combating violence against women. So a lesser focus on trafficking for other labor forms does not mean this does not exist or is not a substantial problem.

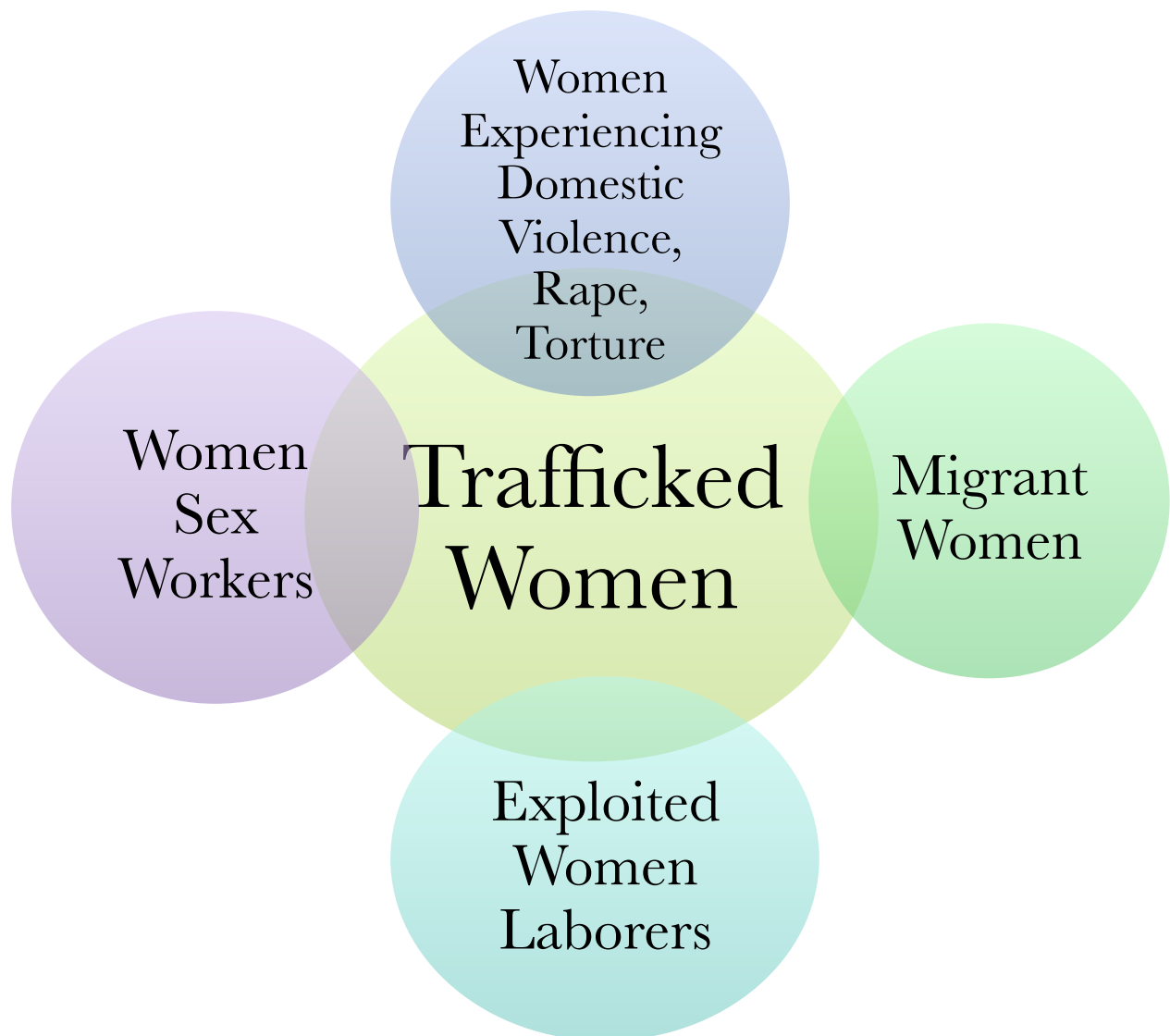
prostitution should be considered one of the most lethal activities worldwide. Farley et al. (2004) surveyed 854 people involved in prostitution from nine different countries and collected data on their experiences with sexual and physical violence. Three fourths of their sample had been physically assaulted while in prostitution, almost two-thirds had been raped, and 89% wanted to exit prostitution but did not feel they possessed other viable options for survival. In addition, 68% met criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and 75% had been homeless.

To date, a few studies have quantitatively examined the health effects specific to human trafficking, with the focus primarily on physical illness and rates of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) in populations of sex trafficked people. Rates of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection are approximately one fourth to one third in sample populations (Silverman et al., 2008; Silverman et al., 2007; Tsutsumi et al., 2008). Though other women who work in commercial sex trades are a high-risk group for STIs, trafficked women are a hard-to-access group that is considered the most vulnerable (Cwikel, Lazer, Press & Lazer, 2008).

There are few empirical studies specifically on the mental health of sex trafficked women, and virtually none exist on those trafficked for other forms of labor. Zimmerman et al. (2008) interviewed 192 European women who had been trafficked and sexually exploited and found that more than half of the women had experienced pre-trafficking abuse, while 95% reported physical or sexual violence while trafficked. Among the most common post-trafficking physical and psychological problems were headaches (85%), back pain (49%), memory problems (45%), gynecological infection (51%), suicidality (39%), and clinical levels of post-traumatic stress, with 57% qualifying for a diagnosis of PTSD.

Spheres of Vulnerability

(from Zimmerman and Watts, 2007)



Tsutsumi et al. (2008) explored the mental health status of 164 trafficked women in Nepal and found that women trafficked for forced prostitution had more severe symptoms of anxiety, depression, and PTSD than those in other areas, such as domestic labor or circus work. The entire sex trafficked group qualified for a diagnosis of clinical depression, a third of the women qualified for a diagnosis of PTSD, and a third of the women were infected with HIV. Unfortunately, these surveys represent the smallest minority of trafficked women and adolescent girls: the ones who both escaped their trafficking situations and sought medical assistance. It is assumed that the physical and mental health status of non-rescued women is even worse (Silverman et. al., 2008; Tsutsumi et. al., 2008; Zimmerman et. al., 2008). These emerging empirical studies support the conclusions drawn from qualitative work and investigative journalism exposing the humiliation, shame, and prolonged trauma survivors endure, which often results in suicide, substance abuse, re-trafficking, murder by traffickers, and/or AIDS-related deaths (e.g. Bales, 1999; Batstone, 2007; Kara, 2009; Malarek, 2004; Waugh, 2006).

Despite the suffering of trafficking victims, there are no available data on general public knowledge about trafficking. An accurate understanding of human trafficking among the populace may have relevance to increased empathy for trafficked people, as well as preventative and rehabilitative campaigns. The establishment of programs to rescue and restore victims of trafficking also requires an educated, empathic populace. To date, there has never been an experimental study on attitudes and empathy towards trafficked people in the United States, and there are no empirical data on citizen awareness of trafficking.

Knowledge and Awareness

However, virtually every report on human trafficking calls for increased awareness of this important issue. In the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons* (2009), the Executive Director, Antonio Mario Costa, described the debilitating lack of knowledge on human trafficking, stating “policy can be effective if it is evidence-based, and so far the evidence has been scanty” (p. 2). Internationally standardized data are unavailable, and a global understanding of the problem is lacking. Costa laments that “the crisis we face of fragmented knowledge and disjointed responses intensifies a crime that shames us all” (p. 3).

There has been much interest in understanding and preventing human trafficking among the academic community. Miller, Decker, Silverman, and Raj (2007) published a case report from a community health center in Massachusetts highlighting health care providers’ unique opportunity to identify and assist U.S. sex trafficking victims and strongly recommending specialized education and training. Zimmerman, Watts, Adams, and Nelson (2003) strongly advocated for the training of health professionals and highlight the necessity of sharing information to enlighten policy makers, educators, public health officials, and citizens. Schauer and Wheaton (2006) stated that “the [American] public must be educated to understand the worldwide and national criminal crisis that trafficking is becoming” (p. 166).

Recently, there has been some media interest in trafficking, with the main focus being on sex trafficking. This media attention has raised some awareness among policy makers and citizens (Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). Reports on sex trafficking have gained the attention of groups across the political spectrum, from secular feminists to conservative Christians (Waugh, 2006). However, by featuring lurid stories of gang rape and

torture, these media reports often neglect “the more complicated and ambiguous realities of many trafficked women’s lives and the context of their trafficking experience” (Cwikel & Hoban, 2005, p. 311), as well as the powerful effects of psychological confinement, shaming, coercion, and language and cultural barriers (Logan, 2007).

Waugh (2006) refers to the term “sex slave” as a media cliché, and argues that language used by the media neglects both the humanity and agency of trafficked women and girls, as well as ignoring other forms of forced migrant labor. Soderlund (2005) additionally cites moralistic and “protectionist media discourses” on sex trafficking as affecting both public opinion and government policy. An accurate understanding of trafficking is relevant to public perception and prevention, as a media over-emphasis on sexualized and shocking stories may detract attention from other forms of trafficking, such as agricultural labor or domestic servitude.

Many American faith-based organizations have identified sex trafficking as an important issue, and citizens of such groups have gained a prominent role in the anti-sex trafficking movement. Bernstein (2007) documented the growing political force of evangelical Christians and their influence on sex trafficking rhetoric. Elliott (2005) described the Christian responses to trafficking in women from Eastern Europe, which included letter-writing campaigns, working with various groups to promote Congressional action, and the concerted, globalized efforts of the Salvation Army, the “premier Protestant denominational response to trafficking” (p. 2). According to Zhang (2009), numerous groups, including faith-based ones, have claimed causal relations between sex trafficking and prostitution, and discourses surrounding trafficking have often been more ideologically based than empirically driven.

As detailed by Block (2004), the involvement of certain Christian right-wing groups is troubling to some feminist activists, non-faith-based NGOs (non-governmental organizations),

and scholars. In some instances, the trafficking issue has been used as a political tool to further the anti-immigration and anti-prostitution movements, as opposed to focusing on the eradication of trafficking or shielding sex workers from abuse and exploitation. Moral crusades against all forms of prostitution have at times dominated the discussion over anti-trafficking legislation, and, as Block elucidates, “if trafficking is prostitution per se, then evangelicals can fight all prostitution, throughout the world, in the name of trafficking, [while] funded by ‘anti-trafficking’ initiatives” (p. 32). Numerous NGOs who aid sex workers have been defunded, which has resulted in their decreased ability to help trafficked women, as well as disadvantaged their HIV/AIDS prevention efforts.

Musto (2008) further explicates the harmful effects of this “Gag Rule,” such as decreased dialogue and program development, the subjugation of victim needs to funder demands, and as an obstacle preventing trafficked people from self-defining survivorship, identity, and empowerment. Both funding pressures and the “NGO-ification” of the anti-trafficking movement have greatly limited the ability of trafficked people to advocate for themselves. Soderlund (2005) analyzed U.S. anti-sex trafficking policies and rhetoric under the Bush administration and chronicled the sometimes injurious effects of the “raid-and-rehabilitation” method of groups operating within an abolitionist framework, such as the Christian-based human rights group International Justice Mission. An explanation of the “trafficking debates” is also offered, with those who consider prostitution to be “sex slavery” positioned against those who view rigorous campaigns against sex trafficking as undermining efforts to secure the rights of those who chose to work in the sex industry. Those active in both sides of this debate include liberal feminist and women’s groups, conservative faith-based organizations, and activist groups of various political persuasions.

Overall, it appears the political and/or ideological agendas of various groups have brought justified attention to the issue of sex trafficking, but the promotion of their own interests has oftentimes been to the detriment of sex trafficking survivors' welfare and to the neglect of people trafficked for other forms of exploitation. An understanding of American citizens' involvement in the aforementioned groups is relevant to knowledge and awareness of trafficking, as well as attitudes towards trafficked people. This includes a person's self-identification as a member of a group (feminist, evangelical Christian, etc.), their sources of information on trafficking (faith leaders, political parties, etc.), their opinion of trafficking as a human rights issue, and the quality and accuracy of their knowledge. To date, there has not been a quantitative analysis of the political or religious affiliations of those in civil society who are active in the anti-trafficking movement, or any studies on how involvement in the aforementioned groups may affect knowledge of trafficking or attitudes towards trafficking victims.

In their review of the literature on the extent and complexity of trafficking of women and children into the United States for sexual exploitation, Schauer and Wheaton (2006) had many suggestions for improvement. They stressed the importance of awareness in the law enforcement and justice community, contending that human trafficking will likely supersede drug trafficking as the premier transnational crime within a decade. Human trafficking also takes place domestically, and is reported to have occurred in many American cities, but it is frequently undetected and unrecognized by law enforcement. The authors state that law enforcement must increase awareness of this problem, receive specialized training, and work in conjunction with victim services and reintegration programs.

Wilson and Dalton (2008) performed a content analysis of news articles published on trafficking and interviewed people from law enforcement and social service agencies on local

trends, market characteristics, and organizational responses to trafficking in the Ohio cities of Columbus and Toledo. Following reports of teens kidnapped and trafficked for prostitution, there has been growing concern in these urban areas, but little knowledge about the extent of trafficking in these cities or in the Midwest generally. Many factors were identified as impeding investigations and prosecutions, including lack of awareness and training, inadequate resources, and faulty policies. The authors strongly recommend improving awareness and response through training, education, and outreach, especially in the community at large. In fact, they proclaim that many human trafficking cases have been solved when a community member noticed something suspicious and intervened in some way, such as helping a victim or calling the police.

Busch, Fong, and Williamson (2004) compared the topic of human trafficking to domestic violence, highlighting comparisons in research methodological needs as well as policy and practice responses. They suggest that organizations aiding victims of domestic violence are the best candidates to help trafficking victims, although “theoretical understanding and reliable information about the problem are limited” (p. 142). They conclude that much more knowledge needs to be gathered concerning the extent of the crisis and long-term effects on survivors. Due to the social work profession’s commitment to human rights and social justice, Hodge (2008) stresses the role social workers may play in fighting human trafficking and advocating for victims, which includes working to foster public and cultural norms that will protect potential victims from exploitation.

In an article discussing and synthesizing nine reports on trafficking within the United States, Logan, Walker, and Hunt (2009) documented the increased media coverage and policy attention of the issue. However, it receives much less attention than other topics, such as illegal immigration, and there is relatively little public outcry compared to other social injustices.

Identifying trafficking victims is challenging, but the authors state that victims can be helped when identified by neighbors, customers, or community members; this highlights the need to raise awareness across the board. Trafficking is a crime that affects everyone, and citizens must take an active role in responding to victims alongside police and service agencies. Lusk and Lucas (2009) cite public awareness as the fundamental preventative strategy, as citizens may have no knowledge that the products they buy have slave labor inputs, or that the sexual entertainment they consume through prostitution, erotic dancing, and pornography may feature enslaved women and youth.

Despite the call for increased public knowledge and awareness of human trafficking, there has not been a quantitative study exploring what information American citizens have on the topic. This is a handicap to both prevention and rehabilitation efforts, especially because the United States is thought to rank as one of the world's largest destination countries for trafficked women and children (Mizus, Moody, Privado, & Douglas, 2003). The current study was designed to gather information about awareness and knowledge of human trafficking at a large public university in the Midwestern United States.

Empathy

Empathy has been extensively studied in recent years and is considered an essential component to ethical thought and behavior, as well as the drive to act prosocially (e.g. Batson, 1991; Einolf, 2008). Empathy, as defined by Batson (1991), is an other-oriented affective response congruent with the perceived welfare of another. Within clinical psychology, it is often defined by three discrete skills: the ability to share another's emotions, the cognitive ability to discern what another is feeling, and a "socially beneficial" objective to respond with benevolence

to that person's distress (Decety & Jackson, 2004). Prosocial behavior as a result of empathy is similar to but distinct from altruism, or selfless behavior conducted on behalf of another without regard to one's self-interest (Workman & Reader, 2004). There have been arguments among scholars as to whether altruistic behavior can truly exist; the extent of this debate is beyond the capacity of this paper (for a discussion see Batson, 1991).

Empathy is assumed to have a biological basis, with links to evolutionary biology and psychology (Decety & Ickes, 2009). In their landmark study with human infants, Sagi and Hoffman (1976) found that day-old neonates would cry significantly more when exposed to the sounds of another infant crying, as opposed to a synthetic nonhuman cry or silence. Prosocial behavior has been observed in the animal kingdom in species as diverse as naked mole rats and dwarf mongooses (Workman & Reader, 2004). There have been advances to discern what brain areas are responsible for empathic responding, and studies have recorded the impairment of empathic responding following brain damage to specific areas (e.g. Damasio, 2002).

Researchers have shown that empathy is crucial to interpersonal relationships (e.g. Ickes, 2003). For example, children with Type I diabetes that perceive high maternal empathy have better medical regimen adherence, increased glycemic control, and higher hope scores (Lloyd, 2009). Teens who are less adept at inferring other people's thoughts and feelings are more likely to experience adjustment problems, and empathic accuracy acts as a buffer against adjustment problems when peer relations are poor (Gleason, Jensen-Campbell & Ickes, 2009). Di Blasi et al. (2001) reviewed the literature of context effects on health outcomes, and found that physicians who adopt a warm, empathic, and reassuring demeanor are more effective. Furthermore, empathy is believed to play a vital role in the moral development of young children (Eisenberg, 2002). In fact, the absence of empathy has been associated with personality disorders and anti-

social behavior (Hare, 2006), and impaired empathic responding is a characteristic feature of autism spectrum disorders (Baron-Cohen, 2004).

Empathy has empirical links to prosocial and helping behavior; empathic responding has been repeatedly identified in studies as an affective factor that is relevant to situations involving people-in-need (e.g. Batson, 1991). Piferi et al. (2006) examined immediate and sustained helping behavior among Americans following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Motivations for giving were included and coded as either egoistic (self-oriented reactions to another's need) or altruistic (other-oriented actions to another's need). Trait empathy and being emotionally affected were strong predictors of giving immediately following 9/11. After one year, the only predictor of giving was other-focused motivation to help, suggesting that empathic, other-focused motivations are more predictive of sustained giving than self-focused motivations. Johnson et al. (2009) tested the influence of media-based priming of stereotypes on Black Americans and found that priming negative stereotypes of Black Americans looting after Hurricane Katrina reduced support for Black evacuees-in-need. However, the influence of stereotype priming was mediated by empathic responding, suggesting that the priming of stereotypes can adversely influence public policy judgments, but empathy may ameliorate this effect.

Empathy has a special role to play in regards to prosocial behavior and social support for sexual assault victims. Survivors' lives can be chronically disrupted by fear, shame, guilt, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and severe injury, all of which are extensively documented in the literature (e.g. Feeny, Zoellner & Foa, 2000; Jaycox, Zoellner & Foa, 2002; Ullman, Filipas, Townsend & Starzynski, 2007). In addition to the adverse psychological and physical effects of assault, society frequently blames sexual assault survivors for the crimes

committed against them (Burt, 1980; Mason et. al, 2009). Negative social reactions can result in further damages, such as worsened PTSD symptoms and prolonged psychological distress (Filipas & Ullman, 2001).

In a large and ethnically diverse sample of sexual assault survivors, Ullman et al. (2007) assessed the effects of pre-assault, assault, and post-assault psychosocial factors on severity of PTSD and found significant effects for negative social reactions. In a meta-analysis of risk factors for PTSD, Brewin, Andrews and Valentine (2000) found that social support had the strongest effect on symptoms. Additionally, Mason et al. (2009) examined the relation between social support and the risk of sexual assault re-victimization in a community-based sample. Re-victimized survivors received less informational and emotional support and more blaming reactions than survivors who were not re-victimized. This study represents a more ecological approach to understanding causes and risk factors for re-victimization, as the focus is not on the individual survivor but extra-individual factors such as social response. It highlights not only the importance of social support to recovery, but social support as a potential protective factor against future assaults.

The lack of support for survivors, considering its importance in their recovery, is of substantial concern. Multiple studies have demonstrated the relationship between victim blaming and rape myth acceptance (RMA). Rape myths are a complex set of cultural and societal beliefs that reinforce men's domination of women and perpetuate male violence against them (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999). Rape myths were first defined as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" that work to create an atmosphere "hostile to rape victims...that blames them for their own victimization" (Burt, 1980, p. 217). The relationship between RMA, victim blaming, propensity for, and acceptance of violence against

women has been extensively documented in the literature (e.g. Bohner, Siebler & Schmelcher, 2006; Frese, Moya & Megias, 2004; Mason, Riger & Foley, 2004; Morry & Winkler, 2001).

Empathy has been shown to help overcome society's rape myth acceptance and tendency to blame victims. Smith and Frieze (2003) found that perceived victim responsibility was negatively correlated with rape victim empathy and positively correlated with rape perpetrator empathy. In a recent study on Turkish students' attitudes toward rape victims, empathy predicted more positive attitudes (Sakalli-Ugurlu, Yalcin & Glick, 2007). Additionally, rape prevention programs that induce empathy towards victims have shown to be effective in increasing victim empathy as well as decreasing proclivity to rape in certain populations (e.g. Foubert & Newberry, 2006; Foubert & Perry, 2007; Stephens & George, 2009). Thus, empathy has an important role to play in terms of sexual assault prevention and survivor rehabilitation.

The construct of empathy is thus essential in terms of gauging prosocial responses to human trafficking victims, as they are vulnerable to myriad forms of abuse and exploitation. This study will gather information on levels of empathy for survivors of trafficking, which may have relevance to prevention efforts, grassroots activism, and public policy. In combination with data collection to gather knowledge on Americans' awareness of human trafficking, this study is an important addition to the burgeoning field of human trafficking scholarship.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 223 undergraduates in introductory psychology courses from The Ohio State University. Participants received no monetary compensation, but did receive course credit for their participation. Each participant had to be 18 years of age or older. Women comprised 58.3% of the sample and men comprised 41.7%. In terms of age, 21.5% of the sample was 18 years of age, 37.7% was 19 years of age, 17% was 20 years of age, 8.5% was 21 years of age, 4.9% was 22 years of age, 2.2% was 23 years of age, and 8.1% was 24 years of age or older.

The entire sample was fluent in English, with 93.7% of participants claiming English as their first (native) language. The sample was limited to American citizens, with international students who were not fluent in English excluded from analyses. The majority of students (56%) were in their first year. Second year students comprised 21.5% of the sample, followed by third year students (12.6%), fourth year students (6.3%), and students in their fifth year or more (3.1%).

In terms of socioeconomic status, the majority of students identified themselves as middle class (47.1%). A small group of students identified as being of low (2.7%) or high (1.3%) socioeconomic status. Additionally, 12.6% of students identified as lower-middle class, and a significant proportion of students (36.3%) identified as upper-middle class. The majority of the sample was white or Caucasian (78%), followed by African-American (7.6%), Asian or Pacific Islander (7.2%), Hispanic (2.7%), Multiple Ethnicities (2.2%), Middle Eastern (1.3%), and Other (0.9%). Regarding marital status, the majority of students were single (54.7%). A significant proportion of students were in a relationship but not married (41.7%). A small amount of the sample was married (3.1%) or divorced (0.4%).

The religious orientation of the sample was predominantly Christian. Catholics composed the largest segment (27.8%), followed by non-denominational Christians (23.8%), Protestants (13.5%), and Orthodox Christians (3.1%). Thirteen percent of participants identified as agnostic, and 4% identified as atheist. Additionally, small numbers of students identified as Muslim (3.1%), Hindu (2.2%), and Jewish (2.2%). In terms of political orientation, the majority of students described themselves as moderate (39%). The group was split almost evenly between liberals and conservatives. About a quarter of students described themselves as conservative (26.5%), and 4.5% described themselves as very conservative. About a quarter of students described themselves as liberal (26.5%), and 3.6% of students described themselves as very liberal. Only 16.6% of the sample identified as feminist.

In terms of activity in religious or faith-based communities, the majority of the sample reported low levels of involvement. Over a third (35.4%) said that they were not at all active in their faith or religious community. Approximately one quarter (23.8%) of the sample reported they were somewhat active, 18.8% said they were moderately active, 10.3% said they were very active, and 8.1% said they were extremely active. Eight students were excluded from analyses because they said this question did not apply to them.

In terms of activity in political groups or communities, the majority of the sample reported very low levels of involvement. Almost one half (47.9%) reported no activity. Over a third (34.1%) reported they were somewhat active, 12.1% said they were moderately active, 3.1% said they were very active, and only 1 person (0.4%) reported they were extremely active. Ten students were excluded from analyses because they said this question did not apply to them.

Participants were also asked about abuse history and involvement in the sex industry. One sixth of the sample (16.6%) reported having a close friend or family member that was a

sexual assault survivor. In terms of personal abuse history, 14.3% reported being a victim of physical violence or abuse, 9.4% reported being a victim of sexual violence or abuse, and a fifth of the sample (21.6%) reported being a victim of emotional or psychological abuse. Rates of personal experience in the sex industry were low, with 1.4% reporting experience in sex work or prostitution, 3.6% reporting experience in pornography, and 1.8% reporting experience in exotic dancing (or “stripping”). The higher percentage of participants claiming experience in pornography may be due to confusion over the wording of the question; some students expressed, via confidential comments at the end of the survey, that they had experience watching pornography but had not participated in it.

Study Design

The current study was a between-subjects, cross-sectional design. Students were randomly assigned to read a vignette, written by the author, which described a fictitious young woman (“Ana”) involved in sex work in some capacity. The vignette portraying a sex trafficked woman from Eastern Europe was loosely based on anecdotal accounts compiled from various sources (e.g. Waugh, 2006). There were four different versions of the vignette with two independent variables: citizenship of sex worker (foreign or domestic) and consensual nature of sexual activity (voluntary or involuntary). The foreign country chosen was Ukraine, as it is an East European country heavily affected by the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. Women involuntarily involved in prostitution were portrayed as trafficked, and women voluntarily involved were portrayed as sex workers. When crossed, these independent variables produced a 2 x 2 design. Responses to various vignettes were used to assess the levels of empathy towards women involved in different forms of sexual activity, as well as collect

information on how prosocial inclinations vary based on the circumstances of the woman. It was predicted that students with increased empathy for Ana would be more inclined to act pro-socially toward her across all four conditions.

After reading the vignettes, all participants answered questions gauging their feelings toward Ana. Questions focused on empathy for her, similarity to her, prosocial inclinations towards her, belief in the government's responsibility to help her, etc. Some questions were adapted from Bell, Kuriloff, and Lottes (1994). Additionally, self-report measures were used to assess trait empathy, belief in a just world, attitudes toward prostitution, attitudes towards rape victims, and rape myth acceptance. The study also included a pilot survey developed by the author, which was designed to gauge knowledge and awareness of human trafficking.

Vignettes

	Voluntary	Involuntary
Foreign	FV: Foreign women who migrate internationally to do sex work	FI: Foreign women trafficked internationally for sexual exploitation
Domestic	DV: Domestic women who migrate internally to do sex work	DI: Domestic women trafficked internally for sexual exploitation

Domestic/Involuntary (DI)

Ana is a 20-year-old woman who is from the U.S. and speaks fluent English. Her father was an abusive alcoholic and Ana ran away from home to escape the situation. She was unemployed and living in poverty, when a friend of a friend introduced her to Robert, who told her of a wonderful job opportunity in a city in which she wanted to live, but had never been. Robert paid for her airline ticket, rental car, and hotel reservation. When she arrived at the hotel, three strange men who blocked her from leaving the room accompanied Robert. Robert told her that in order to pay off the debt she had accrued for the airfare, car, and hotel, she must work as a prostitute and give her earnings, with interest, to him. Robert threatened her safety if she did not comply. Ana has now been working as a prostitute for Robert for two years, since her arrival into the city at 18, and has not yet made enough money to satisfy his demands. In order to meet economic demands, she must have sex with approximately eight men per day.

Foreign/Involuntary (FI)

Ana is a 20-year-old woman who is from Ukraine and speaks very little English. Her father was an abusive alcoholic and Ana ran away from home to escape the situation. She was unemployed and living in poverty, when a friend of a friend introduced her to Robert, who told her of a wonderful job opportunity in the U.S., where she had always wanted to live, but had never been. Robert paid for her airline ticket, forged travel documents, and hotel reservation. When she arrived at the hotel in the U.S., Robert was accompanied by three strange men, who blocked her from leaving the room. Robert told her that in order to pay off the debt she had accrued for the airfare, travel documents, and hotel, she must work as a prostitute and give her earnings, with interest, to him. Robert

threatened her safety if she did not comply. Ana has been working as a prostitute for Robert for two years, since her arrival into the US at 18, and has not yet made enough money to satisfy his demands. In order to meet economic demands, she must have sex with approximately eight men per day.

Domestic/Voluntary (DV)

Ana is a 20-year-old woman who is from the U.S. and speaks fluent English. Her father was an abusive alcoholic and Ana ran away from home to escape the situation. She ended up in a different city in which she had wanted to live, but had never been. Once she arrived, she was unemployed and living in poverty on the streets. She became friends with several of the prostitutes on her street who talked about how much money they were earning for easy work. Ana wanted to be part of this lifestyle and earn money for herself in a similar fashion, for work she felt capable of doing. Some of her prostitute friends offered to walk with Ana the first time she worked as a prostitute and helped her to overcome her fears and reservations. Ana has now been working as a streetwalking prostitute for two years, since her arrival into the city at 18. In order to meet economic demands, she must have sex with approximately eight men per day.

Foreign/Voluntary (FV)

Ana is a 20-year-old woman who is from Ukraine and speaks very little English. Her father was an abusive alcoholic and Ana ran away from home to escape the situation. She paid a smuggler to obtain an illegal passport and ended up in the U.S., where she had always wanted to live, but had never been. Once she arrived, she was unemployed and living in poverty on the streets. She became friends with several of the prostitutes on her street who talked about how much money they were earning for easy work. Ana wanted

to be part of this lifestyle and earn money for herself in a similar fashion, for work she felt capable of doing. Some of her prostitute friends offered to walk with Ana the first time she worked as a prostitute and helped her to overcome her fears and reservations. Ana has now been working as a streetwalking prostitute for two years, since her arrival into the US at 18. In order to meet economic demands, she must have sex with approximately eight men per day.

Materials

Demographic Form. Participants filled out a form assessing basic demographic information. This included age, gender, ethnicity, year in school, socioeconomic status, and relationship status, as well as prosocial behaviors. As there is evidence suggesting certain groups, such as feminist organizations and the faith community, view trafficking as an important issue, information on religious beliefs/participation and political affiliation was collected as well. Participants were also asked about abuse history and involvement in the sex industry.

The Attitudes Toward Prostitution Scale (ATPS; Sawyer & Metz, 2009). Participants completed the 10-item ATPS, a specific measure of attitudes and beliefs about prostitution. It was originally created to assess the beliefs of men who purchase sex from prostitutes. Factors examined include social and legal support for prostitution (3 items), beliefs about prostitutes (5 items), and family values related to prostitution (2 items). Participants mark the degree to which they agree with statements on a Likert-type response scale, with 1 as “strongly disagree” and 4 as “strongly agree.” Higher scores are believed to indicate more stereotyped, distorted, and unrealistic attitudes and beliefs concerning prostitutes and sex work; according to the authors, a higher total attitudes score may be “endorsing notions about prostitution that fail to appreciate the callous

reality of most sex work and that prostitution is illegal” (342). Another explanation for an elevated total attitudes score is that prostitution is viewed as acceptable, harmless, and should be decriminalized. Thus far, the ATPS has only been used in a sample of men arrested for purchasing sex. The authors reported adequate factor loading coefficients (ranging from .61-.87 for Factor I, .33-.73 for Factor II, and .51-.68 for Factor III). Internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha coefficient) was also adequate at $\alpha = .80$ for Social/legal Support; $\alpha = .74$ for Beliefs About Prostitutes; and $\alpha = .61$ for Family Values.

Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1980). The IRI measures trait empathy, or individual differences in the ability to empathize with the observed experiences of another person. It is a 28-item test that presents statements about thoughts and feelings in a variety of situations. Participants rate the degree to which statements apply to themselves on a 5-point scale with 0 as “does not describe me well” and 5 as “describes me very well.” The measure consists of four subscales developed through factor analysis: three scales measuring emotional responsiveness or affective sympathy (fantasy, empathic concern, personal distress); and one scale measuring cognitive aspects of empathy (perspective taking). Davis (1980, 1983) reported good internal reliability for the 4 subscales (α ranging from .70 to .78) and good test-retest reliability (correlations between .61 to .81).

Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA; Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999). This 45-item scale measures attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that function to deny and justify male sexual aggression. Participants are asked to rate their level of agreement to the items using a 7-point Likert-type response scale, where 1 is “not at all agree” and 7 is “very much agree.” The scale consists of 5 filler items along with seven subscales of rape myths: “She asked for it;” “It wasn’t really rape;” “He didn’t mean to;” “She wanted it;” “She lied;” “Rape is a

trivial event,” and “Rape is a deviant event.” The authors reported adequate item-to-total correlations (range: .39-.72), and internal consistency coefficients (α ranging from .74 to .93). In addition, the authors reported evidence for good construct validity, with correlations to related constructs between .50 and .74.

Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (ARVS; Ward, 1988). The ARVS is composed of 25 items that assess favorable and unfavorable attitudes concerning rape. It focuses on victim blame, victim denigration, victim credibility, victim responsibility, victim deservingness, and trivialization of victim damage. Participants mark the degree to which they agree with statements on a 5-point Likert-type scale, with 0 as “disagree strongly” and 4 as “agree strongly.” Higher scores indicate having more unfavorable, prejudicial attitudes toward rape victims. Ward reported Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha = .83$. It has been validated cross-culturally and in a variety of samples (e.g. university students, law enforcement, social workers).

The Beliefs in a Just World Questionnaire (BJWQ; Dalbert, Montada, & Schmitt, 1987; Dalbert, 1999). The BJWQ is an instrument developed in Germany to measure Just World Belief, the idea that there is a strong positive correlation between what people do and what happens to them; this often prompts the certainty that someone who experiences misfortune must have deserved it. It contains 13 items; of these, 6 items measure the belief that the world in general is a just place, and 7 items measure the belief that events in one’s personal life are just. Items are rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 6 (“strongly agree”). Scores are computed by averaging across items, with higher scores indicating greater belief in a just world. Dalbert (1999) reported a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha = .83$ for Personal BJW, and Dalbert, Montada and Schmitt (1987) reported a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha = .88$ for General BJW world. Satisfactory levels of internal reliability were reported for the General BJW (α ranging from .66 to .88). The

Personal BJWS also demonstrated a good level of internal reliability, ranging from $\alpha = .82$ to $\alpha = .87$. Test-retest correlations for the General BJWS were adequate, ranging from .73 to .82 (Dalbert & Schneider, 1995).

Knowledge of Human Trafficking Questionnaire. Participants completed a pilot questionnaire developed by the author, with input from Omorodion (2009), Polaris Project (2009), and Otsuki and Hatano (2009), gathering information on participants' knowledge of human trafficking. The questionnaire also assessed opinions on issues related to foreign and American sex workers, and gathered data on media exposure to these and other related issues.

Procedures

The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board at The Ohio State University and was conducted in accordance with accepted ethical standards. Participants were students in undergraduate psychology courses who signed up for the study on a course-specific website. The author checked these sign-ups on a daily basis and emailed participants a URL to the web-based survey posted on SurveyMonkey.com. In order to assure that students received credit for their participation, each student was given a unique identification number. The author credited each student within 72 hours of study completion.

The online survey took approximately 45 minutes. Students were first presented with study procedures and the elements of consent. Students were told that the survey would measure their opinions and knowledge considering sex work in the United States. Students were not told that the survey was specifically designed to gauge knowledge and awareness of human trafficking and attitudes towards trafficking victims. They were also told that there were

questions collecting information on their charitable behaviors, personality, and experiences with sexual assault. Students were informed that their survey answers would be kept confidential.

Students clicked a button to indicate they understood the material and agreed to participate in the survey. Students who did not consent still received course credit. Then, half the participants filled out a demographic form, followed by surveys measuring different psychological constructs and personality variables. Next, they were randomly assigned to read a vignette and answer the follow-up questions. Finally, they completed the knowledge of human trafficking questionnaire. This was counterbalanced by the second half of participants first reading the vignettes and completing the questions on human trafficking, followed by completing the surveys measuring psychological constructs and personality variables.

After pressing the “Done” button at the end of the survey, participants were presented with a debriefing form that included resources for survivors of violence and additional information on human trafficking. Students were also informed that deception was involved in the experiment and were given the option to have their data removed. On every page of the survey, there was a button that allowed students to exit the survey, thus ensuring their ability to withdraw, without penalty, at any time. Students who chose to withdraw without completing the survey were still given credit for their participation and were directed to a website with free psychosocial resources for survivors of violence.

Predictions

- 1) Based on responses to the vignettes, empathy will be highest for trafficked American women (DI) and lowest for foreign sex migrants (FV).
- 2) Americans will have little knowledge of the extent of human trafficking in the United States.

3) Activity in religious and political groups will be a significant predictor of empathy and awareness.

4) IRI: Highly empathic individuals will be more likely to demonstrate pro-social responses towards all groups of women, will have lower adherence to rape myths, less hostile attitudes towards rape victims, less stereotypical attitudes towards prostitutes, and lower belief in a just world. They will be more likely to respond prosocially to Ana.

5) IRMA: Those who adhere highly to rape myths will have lower interpersonal empathy, higher belief in a just world, more hostile attitudes towards rape victims, more stereotypical attitudes towards prostitutes, lower empathy for Ana, and will be less likely to respond pro-socially to Ana.

6) BJW: Those who score high on belief in a just world will have lower interpersonal empathy, stronger adherence to rape myth, more hostile attitudes towards rape victims, more stereotypical attitudes toward prostitutes, lower empathy for Ana, and will be less likely to respond pro-socially to her.

7) ARVS: Those who demonstrate more hostile attitudes towards rape victims will be more likely to adhere highly to rape myths, have lower interpersonal empathy, higher belief in a just world, more stereotypical attitudes toward prostitutes, lower empathy for Ana, and will be less likely to respond pro-socially to Ana.

8) ATPS: Those with more stereotypical, distorted attitudes toward prostitutes will have higher belief in a just world, stronger adherence to rape myth, more hostile attitudes toward rape victims, lower interpersonal empathy, lower empathy for Ana, and will be less likely to respond pro-socially to Ana.

Results

Correlational Data

Gender was positively associated with feminist identity ($r = .23, p < .01$), having a close friend or family member that is a sexual assault survivor ($r = .14, p < .05$), being a victim of sexual violence ($r = .15, p < .05$), and being a victim of psychological abuse ($r = .25, p < .01$). That is, being a woman made association with each of these variables more likely; women were more likely than men to self-identify as feminist, to know a sexual assault survivor, to be victimized sexually, and to be victimized psychologically.

Having a close friend or family member that is a sexual assault survivor was positively correlated with being a victim of physical violence ($r = .26, p < .01$), being a victim of sexual violence ($r = .33, p < .01$), and being a victim of psychological abuse ($r = .36, p < .01$). In other words, people who knew a sexual assault survivor were more likely to be victims of physical, sexual, or psychological violence themselves. This may be due to the fact that the participants were abused along with their family members in a domestic violence or child abuse situation. Alternatively, this could be due to the fact that survivors of sexual assault may be more likely to seek out other survivors for social support, in both formal (e.g. a support group) and informal settings.

Being a victim of physical abuse was positively associated with being a victim of sexual violence ($r = .57, p < .01$), being a victim of psychological abuse ($r = .50, p < .01$), experience in prostitution ($r = .18, p < .01$), and experience in exotic dancing ($r = .23, p < .01$). The strong correlations between physical, sexual, and psychological abuse speak to the typical co-occurrence of multiple forms of abuse. Additionally, many studies have shown that people in the sex industry suffer disproportionate rates of sexual assault even before their entry into sex work,

and the majority have been abused as children (e.g. Farley et al., 2004; Roxburgh, Degenhardt, Copeland & Larance, 2008).

Being a victim of sexual violence or abuse was positively associated with experience in prostitution ($r = .23, p < .01$) and experience in exotic dancing ($r = .19, p < .01$). Being a victim of emotional or psychological abuse was positively related to experience in prostitution ($r = .23, p < .01$). Experience in prostitution was positively related to experience in pornography ($r = .19, p < .01$) and experience in exotic dance ($r = .28, p < .05$). Experience in pornography was positively related to experience in exotic dance ($r = .70, p < .01$). These data speak to the strong association between sex work behaviors.

Empathy for Ana was strongly associated with a personal desire to help her ($r = .46, p < .01$) and a belief in the government's responsibility to help her ($r = .33, p < .01$), along with interpersonal empathy measured by the IRI ($r = .33, p < .01$). Empathy for Ana was negatively associated with IRMA scores ($r = -.32, p < .01$) and ATPS scores ($r = -.16, p < .05$). People with less empathy for Ana had a higher acceptance of rape myths and more stereotyped attitudes towards prostitutes.

Political orientation was positively associated with gender ($r = .18, p < .01$) and a belief in government responsibility to help Ana ($r = .24, p < .01$). People who were more politically liberal were more likely to be women and to believe in the US government's responsibility to help Ana. Political orientation was negatively associated with ARVS scores ($r = -.15, p < .05$), General BJW ($r = -.27, p < .01$), and IRMA scores ($r = -.17, p < .05$). Thus, conservatism was associated with more negative attitudes towards rape victims, higher general belief in a just world, and greater rape myth acceptance.

Activity in one's religious community was positively associated with gender ($r = .14, p < .05$) and activity in one's political community ($r = .35, p < .01$). Those active in their religious groups were more likely to be female and to be engaged politically as well. Activity in one's religious community was also positively associated with empathy for Ana ($r = .16, p < .05$) and a personal desire to help Ana ($r = .20, p < .01$). Finally, religiously active people demonstrated less stereotyped, false beliefs concerning prostitutes, as evidenced by the ATPS ($r = -.21, p < .01$).

Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

The IRI assesses interpersonal empathy. The mean score for men was 64.72 (SD = 13.46), and the mean score for women was 72.47 (SD = 15.51). IRI scores were positively associated with gender ($r = .255, p < .01$), in that women were higher in empathy than men; this is consistent with previous literature.

IRI scores were negatively related to ARVS scores ($r = -.21, p < .01$); as expected, people higher in empathy were more likely to have positive views towards rape victims, as opposed to hostile, blaming views. The IRI was also negatively associated with IRMA scores ($r = -.21, p < .01$), in that higher empathy was associated with less adherence to rape myths. Notably, IRI scores were positively associated with empathy for Ana ($r = .33, p < .01$), a personal desire to help Ana ($r = .34, p < .01$), and a belief in the US government's responsibility to help her ($r = .16, p < .05$).

Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA)

The IRMA measures how strongly an individual accepts rape myths. The mean score for men was 124.60 (SD = 37.06), and the mean score for women was 100.69 (SD = 35.31). Higher scores indicate greater rape myth acceptance, and men endorsed rape myths to a greater extent than women.

IRMA scores were negatively associated with gender ($r = -.31, p < .01$), political orientation ($r = -.17, p < .05$), and interpersonal empathy via the IRI ($r = -.21, p < .01$). People who had more rape myth acceptance were more likely to be male, to be politically conservative, and to be less empathic. People with higher IRMA scores also had higher general belief in a just world ($r = .29, p < .01$). IRMA scores were positively associated with ARVS scores ($r = .78, p < .01$) and ATPS scores ($r = .37, p < .01$), meaning that people with a greater endorsement of rape myth had significantly more hostile, negative attitudes towards rape victims and more distorted, stereotyped attitudes toward prostitutes. Considering the strength of the correlation between the IRMA and ARVS, there may be an overlap in constructs. Additionally, IRMA scores were negatively associated with empathy for Ana ($r = -.32, p < .01$) and personal desire to help Ana ($r = -.30, p < .01$). Finally, activity in one's political community was negatively associated with the "he didn't mean to" scale of the IRMA ($r = -.15, p < .05$). People who were politically active were less likely to believe the rape myth that "men don't really mean to rape."

Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (ARVS)

The ARVS assesses unfavorable attitudes concerning rape victims, and higher scores indicate having more hostile, prejudicial attitudes toward them. The mean score for men was 33.85 (SD = 10.12), and the mean score for women was 27.49 (SD = 11.33). ARVS scores were negatively associated with gender ($r = -.28, p < .01$), in that women had more positive, supportive attitudes toward rape victims than men.

Knowing a sexual assault survivor was also negatively associated with ARVS scores ($r = -.15, p < .05$). Thus, participants who knew a sexual assault survivor were less likely to view rape victims negatively. Additionally, feminist identity was negatively associated with ARVS scores ($r = -.19, p < .01$); participants who considered themselves feminists had less prejudicial, hostile

attitudes towards victims of rape. Being a victim of emotional or psychological abuse was negatively related to ARVS scores ($r = -.22, p < .01$). Additionally, experience in pornography was positively related to ARVS scores ($r = .15, p < .05$); thus, participants with experience in pornography had more negative attitudes towards rape victims.

ARVS scores were positively associated with general BJW ($r = .26, p < .01$). As expected, people with hostile, blaming attitudes towards rape victims endorsed higher just world belief. ARVS scores were also positively correlated to ATPS scores ($r = .31, p < .01$), including beliefs about prostitutes ($r = .34, p < .05$) and family values relating to prostitution ($r = .17, p < .05$). In other words, people with hostile, negative attitudes towards rape victims also held more stereotypical, unrealistic views towards prostitutes and sex work generally.

ARVS scores were negatively associated with political orientation ($-.15, p < .05$), empathy for Ana ($-.28, p < .01$), personal desire to help Ana ($-.23, p < .01$), and government responsibility ($-.17, p < .05$). That is, possessing hostile and negative attitudes towards rape victims was associated with being male, being more politically conservative, having less empathy for Ana and less personal desire to help her, and thinking that the government is not obligated to help her. In addition, ARVS scores were strongly correlated with adherence to rape myth via the IRMA ($.78, p < .01$) and negatively correlated with interpersonal empathy via the IRI ($-.21, p < .01$).

General and Personal Belief in a Just World (BJW)

General belief in a just world gauges the extent to which a person views the world as a fair place, where everyone gets what they deserve. The mean score for men was 21.12 (SD = 4.16), and the mean score for women was 19.13 (SD = 4.69). General BJW was negatively associated with gender ($r = -.22, p < .01$). In other words, women had less general belief in a just

world. Personal belief in a just world assesses the extent to which a person feels life has been fair to them in particular. The mean score for men was 30.46 (SD = 4.70), and the mean score for women was 29.05 (SD = 5.41). The difference between men and women was not significant.

Knowing a sexual assault survivor was also negatively associated with personal belief in a just world ($r = -.19, p < .01$). Additionally, being a victim of physical abuse was negatively correlated with personal belief in a just world ($r = -.23, p < .01$). Being a victim of sexual violence or abuse was negatively correlated with personal belief in a just world ($r = -.20, p < .01$), and being a victim of emotional or psychological abuse was negatively correlated with personal BJW ($r = -.24, p < .01$). Overall, those who have been victimized have less personal belief in a just world.

General BJW was positively correlated with ARVS scores ($r = .26, p < .01$), Personal BJW ($r = .50, p < .01$), and beliefs about prostitutes ($r = .23, p < .05$). People with higher general belief in a just world had more hostile, negative attitudes towards rape victims, along with stereotypical beliefs about prostitutes. General and Personal BJW were strongly related but distinct. Personal BJW was negatively correlated with family values relating to prostitution ($r = -.18, p < .05$). Thus, people who had high personal belief in a just world had less endorsement of family values relating to prostitution.

Attitudes Towards Prostitution Scale (ATPS)

The ATPS measures the extent to which a person endorses stereotypical, distorted beliefs towards prostitution. The mean score for men was 18.98 (SD = 4.36), and the mean score for women was 17.38 (SD = 3.89). Gender was negatively associated with ATPS scores ($r = -.19, p < .01$). In other words, women viewed prostitution less favorably. Gender was also negatively associated with the social support for prostitution subscale ($r = -.19, p < .01$).

The ATPS has three different subscales. Two subscales were significantly correlated with other constructs. Subscale “beliefs about prostitutes” was positively associated with General BJW (.23, $p < .01$). Thus, those with high just world belief also endorsed stereotypical and/or false statements about prostitutes, such as “Prostitutes make a lot of money” or “Prostitutes enjoy their work”. Statements such as these are generally considered stereotypes, clichés, and myths concerning life as a sex worker.

The “family values related to prostitution” subscale measures attitudes about prostitution as it relates to marriage and family values (e.g. “It would be okay if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute”). As Sawyer and Metz (2009) explain, “Men who score higher on this subscale endorse values that would have their family involved in prostitution, demonstrating a significant acceptance of prostitution. Such beliefs would support the behavior of buying sex yet would appear to undermine family cohesion and run contrary to long-established marital and family cultural values” (342). “Family values” was negatively associated with Personal BJW (.18, $p < .05$). Intriguingly, those whose scores indicate a greater acceptance of family values relating to prostitution had less personal belief in a just world.

Interestingly, being a victim of physical abuse was also positively associated with social support of prostitution ($r = .21, p < .01$) and family values related to prostitution ($r = .15, p < .05$). Thus, people who had been physically abused demonstrated more support for prostitution. Those who had been victims of sexual violence showed increased social support of prostitution ($r = .17, p < .05$) and endorsed family values related to prostitution ($r = .14, p < .05$), but held less stereotyped beliefs about prostitutes ($r = -.14, p < .05$).

Being a victim of psychological abuse was also related to social and legal support of prostitution ($r = .14, p < .05$). Additionally, experience in pornography was positively related to

ATPS scores ($r = .16, p < .05$). Thus, participants with experience in pornography had more stereotypical attitudes toward prostitutes. Also, experience in exotic dance was positively related to ATPS scores ($r = .15, p < .05$). So, those with experience in exotic dance hold more stereotypical attitudes towards prostitutes as well. ATPS scores were positively correlated with ARVS scores ($r = .31, p < .01$). In other words, people who held stereotypical views towards prostitution also had more hostile attitudes towards rape victims.

ATPS scores were also negatively associated with activity in one's religious community ($-.21, p < .01$), indicating that more stereotypical attitudes towards prostitutes were associated with less engagement in one's spiritual or religious community. Furthermore, higher ATPS scores were negatively associated with empathy towards Ana ($-.16, p < .05$), a personal desire to help Ana ($-.26, p < .01$), and a belief in the government's responsibility to help her ($-.16, p < .05$). In other words, people who scored high on the ATPS had less empathy for Ana, less desire to help her, and less belief in the government's obligation to help her. As expected, ATPS scores were positively associated with IRMA scores ($.37, p < .01$). People who held stereotypical, false beliefs about prostitutes were also more likely to accept rape myths.

Correlation Table

Correlations											
		Gender	Activity in Religious Community	ARVS	IRI_Total	General	Personal	IRMA_Total	ATP	Empathy towards Ana	Personal Desire to Help
Gender	Pearson Correlation	1	.144*	-.279**	.255**	-.215**	-.135	-.311**	-.190**	.107	.160*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.035	.000	.001	.002	.054	.000	.005	.113	.017
	N	223	215	220	179	203	203	204	215	222	222
Activity in Religious Community	Pearson Correlation	.144*	1	.035	-.043	.070	.015	.032	-.207**	.160*	.203**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.035		.614	.579	.330	.831	.654	.003	.019	.003
	N	215	215	212	172	195	195	196	207	214	214
ARVS	Pearson Correlation	-.279**	.035	1	-.205**	.262**	.010	.778**	.306**	-.275**	-.229**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.614		.006	.000	.886	.000	.000	.000	.001
	N	220	212	220	177	203	203	204	215	220	220
IRI_Total	Pearson Correlation	.255**	-.043	-.205**	1	-.034	.112	-.208**	-.101	.330**	.343**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.579	.006		.669	.154	.007	.187	.000	.000
	N	179	172	177	179	164	164	164	172	179	179
General	Pearson Correlation	-.215**	.070	.262**	-.034	1	.501**	.293**	.083	-.092	-.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.330	.000	.669		.000	.000	.245	.191	.907
	N	203	195	203	164	203	203	190	199	203	203
Personal	Pearson Correlation	-.135	.015	.010	.112	.501**	1	-.023	-.129	.097	.122
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.054	.831	.886	.154	.000		.754	.069	.169	.083
	N	203	195	203	164	203	203	190	199	203	203
IRMA_Total	Pearson Correlation	-.311**	.032	.778**	-.208**	.293**	-.023	1	.374**	-.316**	-.297**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.654	.000	.007	.000	.754		.000	.000	.000
	N	204	196	204	164	190	190	204	200	204	204
ATP	Pearson Correlation	-.190**	-.207**	.306**	-.101	.083	-.129	.374**	1	-.158*	-.262**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.003	.000	.187	.245	.069	.000		.021	.000
	N	215	207	215	172	199	199	200	215	215	215
Empathy towards Ana	Pearson Correlation	.107	.160*	-.275**	.330**	-.092	.097	-.316**	-.158*	1	.463**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.113	.019	.000	.000	.191	.169	.000	.021		.000
	N	222	214	220	179	203	203	204	215	222	222
Personal Desire to Help	Pearson Correlation	.160*	.203**	-.229**	.343**	-.008	.122	-.297**	-.262**	.463**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.003	.001	.000	.907	.083	.000	.000	.000	
	N	222	214	220	179	203	203	204	215	222	222

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table of Means and Standard Deviations

Measure	Mean	Standard Deviation
ARVS Total	30.15	11.27
Men	33.85	10.12
Women	27.49	11.33
IRI Total	69.09	15.11
Men	64.72	13.46
Women	72.47	15.51
General BJW Total	19.95	4.58
Men	21.12	4.16
Women	19.13	4.69
Personal BJW Total	29.64	5.16
Men	30.46	4.70
Women	29.05	5.41
IRMA Total	110.42	37.82
Men	124.60	37.06
Women	100.69	35.31
ATPS Total	18.05	4.16
Men	18.98	4.36
Women	17.38	3.89
Empathy for Ana Total	3.58	1.17
Men	3.43	1.22
Women	3.68	1.13
Personal Desire to Help Total	3.43	1.13
Men	3.22	1.10
Women	3.58	1.13
Activity in Religious Community Total	2.29	1.29
Men	2.08	1.13
Women	2.45	1.38

Analysis of Variance (ANOVAs)

Quality of life was rated very low for Ana across all four conditions, regardless of citizenship status or nature of consent. People perceived life as a prostitute to be very poor overall. However, there were significant differences between condition FI (a trafficked Ukrainian woman) and DV (American sex worker), with quality of life for FI lower than DV (mean difference = $-.374$, significance = $.003$). Life as a trafficked foreign woman in the US was considered much worse than life as an American prostitute in the US. Additionally, gender was negatively associated with assessments of quality of life ($r = -.20$, $p < .01$); women rated Ana's quality of life as lower than men.

In fact, gender was associated with an increased desire to respond prosocially, generally; women had a greater personal desire to help ($r = .16$, $p < .05$), a greater willingness to engage politically to help Ana ($r = .15$, $p < .05$), a greater willingness to organize a service group ($r = .21$, $p < .01$), a greater intent to talk to others about the problem ($r = .16$, $p < .05$), and were more likely to alert law enforcement or social services about Ana's conditions ($r = .14$, $p < .05$).

There were not significant gender differences in empathy for Ana across conditions. The mean score for men was 3.43 (SD = 1.22), and the mean score for women was 3.68 (SD = 1.13). In terms of empathy for Ana, there were significant differences between groups. Ana in condition FI received the highest empathy scores, followed by DI, FV, and DV. Thus, trafficked foreign women received greatest empathy overall, and American prostitutes received the least. Empathy in DI was different from DV (1.158, sig = $.000$) and FV (.979, sig = $.000$). Empathy in FI was different from DV (1.246, sig = $.000$) and FV (1.067, sig = $.000$). There were no significant differences in empathy for FI and DI. As predicted, empathy was highest for trafficked women, regardless of citizenship status.

People felt significantly more similar to Ana in condition DI (a trafficked American woman) than in FI (a trafficked Ukrainian woman; .248, sig = .041), but there were no differences in empathy between DI and FI. Thus, identification with the victim was not predictive of empathy when Ana was trafficked. However, people felt significantly more similar to Ana in condition DI than FV (.252, sig = .034), and there were differences in empathy (1.067, sig = .000).

Participants were also asked to rate how much Ana's character and personality were responsible for her situation, and how much Ana's behavior was responsible for her situation. For character/personality, there were significant differences between DI and DV (-.670, sig = .003), with Ana in DV perceived as more responsible for her situation. There were differences between FI and DV (-1.141, sig = .000), and FI and FV (-.962, sig = .000). Compared to trafficked women, women who agreed to work in prostitution were considered more responsible for their current life situations, despite the women in each condition described as coming from disadvantaged backgrounds characterized by childhood abuse and a father's alcoholism.

In terms of Ana's *behavior* being responsible for her situation, there were significant differences between DI and FI (.786, sig = .003). The behavior of trafficked American women was considered more blameworthy than the behavior of trafficked foreign women. Furthermore, the perception that Ana's behavior was responsible for her situation was strongly correlated with the belief that the US government should arrest her for prostitution ($r = .41, p < .01$) and was negatively associated with a personal desire to help ($r = -.21, p < .01$) and a belief in the government's responsibility to help ($r = -.30, p < .01$).

Additionally, in terms of how responsible Ana's behavior was for her situation, there were also significant differences between FI and DV (1.199, sig = .000) and FI and FV (1.354,

sig = .000). The behavior of Ana in DV and FV was considered more responsible for her situation than when Ana was a trafficked foreign woman in FI.

When Ana was described as trafficked, there was also no significant difference in personal desire to help her. Therefore, citizenship of the woman was not a factor in empathy or personal desire to help between DI and FI. There were, however, significant differences in desire to help between FI and DV (.794, sig = .001) and FI and FV (.630, sig = .017). Participants had more desire to help Ana when she was a trafficked foreigner than an American sex worker or a foreign sex worker.

Additionally, there were no perceived differences in government responsibility to help Ana between DI and FI. Participants believed that the trafficked women were deserving of help, regardless of citizenship status. However, there were significant differences between DI and DV (.311, sig = .003), with American sex workers thought less deserving of government help. The US government was also considered less obligated to help foreign sex workers than trafficked American women (-.771, sig = .000). American sex workers were considered less deserving of government help than trafficked foreign women (-.855, sig = .000). Finally, trafficked foreign women were considered more deserving of help than foreign sex workers (-.834, sig = .000).

Empathy for Ana was negatively associated with assessments of her quality of life ($r = -.19, p < .01$), the belief that her character or personality was responsible for her situation in life ($r = -.46, p < .01$), the belief that her behavior was responsible for her situation in life ($r = -.44, p < .01$), and the belief that the US government should arrest her for prostitution ($r = -.32, p < .01$). Therefore, those with increased empathy for Ana rated her quality of life as lower, believed less strongly that she was responsible for her life circumstances, and did not believe she should be

punished by the legal system. Empathy for Ana was positively associated with a personal desire to help ($r = .46, p < .01$) and a belief in the US government's obligation to help ($r = .33, p < .01$).

Knowledge & Awareness of Human Trafficking

The majority of the sample reported that they had heard of human trafficking (85%). When asked about their awareness of policies regarding human trafficking in the US, 53.8% said they did not know much about them and 30.5% said they knew nothing about them. Only 1.3%, or 3 people, reported they knew the policies well, and 12.1% said they knew them somewhat.

Participants endorsed some myths and misconceptions concerning human trafficking. Three-fourths of the sample (75.7%) falsely believed that human trafficking was equivalent to smuggling. Only 12.4% of the sample disagreed, and 11.7% said they did not know. This demonstrates confusion over definitional issues. However, 81.2% correctly agreed that the majority of those trafficked were women and children. Almost half (49.1%) said that trafficked people come from poor, rural villages, which is generally viewed as a myth.

Half the sample thought that human trafficking was not primarily an issue of illegal immigration (50.2%), with 28.1% saying that it was. In terms of whether trafficked people were criminals, 45% disagreed, but many did not know (39.4%) or even said yes (15.6%). The majority of the sample (84.4%) knew that human trafficking did not just affect developing countries, and 60.4% identified human trafficking as a serious public concern in the United States. Three fourths of the sample (75.1%) agreed that sex trafficking contributes to the rise of HIV infection.

The vast majority of the sample identified human trafficking as a human rights violation (88.1%), and 82% agreed it was a form of slavery. Most agreed that trafficked people were

traumatized by their experiences (83.5%). When asked if trafficked people could be found in the hospitality industry, the majority did not know (48.6%) and only 13.3% correctly said yes. The majority of participants felt a trafficked person would not ask for help when identified by law enforcement (49.8%), which is correct, but many said they did not know (38.7%). Most people knew that trafficking did not require transfer across international borders (58.5%).

Many people incorrectly believed that human trafficking requires physical restraint, bodily harm, or physical force on the part of the trafficker (41.3%), when coercion or the threat of force is all that is necessary to meet legal definitions. Three fourths of the sample (74.7%) correctly believed that there were specific world regions disproportionately affected by trafficking. The majority of the sample did not know that there were documented cases of trafficking in Columbus, Ohio (57.2%). This lack of awareness is of considerable concern, as the study was conducted in Columbus, and it is where the majority of participants resided.

When asked about the circumstances of foreign women working in the sex industry, 46.6% believed that the women were working reluctantly, 44.4% believed the women were forced to work, and 6.7% believed the women were working willingly. In regards to how foreign women in the US sex industry should be treated, 44.8% said the industry should be strictly regulated, 42.2% believed the women should be protected and supported, and 10.8% said there was no particular need to regulate the industry.

Discussion

This study contributes new information on how different personality characteristics and psychological constructs affect attitudes towards victims of human trafficking and women involved in prostitution. Participants with higher empathy had less endorsement of rape myths that condone sexual violence against women and greater support for victims of rape. As anticipated, interpersonal empathy was predictive of increased empathy and prosocial behavior toward both human trafficking victims and women in prostitution. Considering the links between empathy and helping behaviors, this can have implications for social support towards survivors of violence generally and survivors of human trafficking specifically. Anecdotal reports suggest trafficking survivors are treated poorly after returning to their communities, and are often blamed and/or ostracized for their victimization (Bales, 2005; Kara, 2009). Considering the myriad physical and psychological injuries sustained following exploitation and abuse (e.g. Tsutsumi et. al., 2008; Zimmerman et. al., 2008), the value of compassionate social support cannot be underestimated.

Furthermore, although there is not yet empirical data on treatments for trafficking survivors or the long-term efficacy of such treatments, scholars have proposed that effective psychosocial rehabilitation programs include the support of the community at large. Chung (2009) suggests mental health practitioners working with survivors of trafficking consider implementing the Multi-level Model of Psychotherapy, Social Justice and Human Rights (MLM) psychotherapeutic model, which advocates working on human trafficking issues on all levels—individual, community, and global. Psychologists are encouraged to help their clients by engaging with families and communities, educating them on the effects of human trafficking and working to minimize the shame and embarrassment that trafficking victims experience. Chung

also stresses the importance of awareness beyond the local community, as human trafficking is a transnational phenomenon. Thus, community-based interventions require not only increased knowledge and awareness of human trafficking, but empathy and assistance on the part of society.

Gender differences in this study were striking. Men's responses were lower in interpersonal empathy, higher in rape myth acceptance, more hostile in attitudes towards rape victims, greater in belief in a just world, and more distorted in views toward prostitutes. Men's responses demonstrated less prosocial behaviors towards Ana than women's responses. It is almost exclusively men who purchase sex, so it follows that prevention and awareness campaigns regarding sex trafficking should focus specifically on men as a target population.

In general, considering the vulnerability of both foreigners and American citizens to sex trafficking, the high demand among men for commercial sex is extremely problematic. Although there are no existing empirical studies on the number of women forced into prostitution in the United States, substantial minorities of men pay for sex. Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) identify men in wealthy countries as "directly responsible for the demand for immigrant sex workers—as well as the sexual abuse of many migrant women who work as domestics" (p. 9).

It is difficult to effectively gauge what percent of American men purchase sex, and though multiple studies have tried, estimates vary. In a survey of 1,515 men visiting urban health centers, it was found 8.7% reported exchanging drugs, money, or a place to stay for sex with a woman in the past year (Decker, Raj, Gupta & Silverman, 2008). Brewer, Roberts, Muth, and Potterat (2008) conducted a multi-city survey and found that 2-3% of adult males purchased sex from street-walking prostitutes. A 2004 survey on the sexual behaviors of Americans reported that 15% of men had paid for sex (ABC News). It is universally accepted

that the sex trade would not exist without high demand for sexual services, and any effort to prevent sex trafficking must take into account the people who pay for sex with women, regardless of their knowledge concerning the nature of the women's involvement. Future investigations into this issue are vital.

It is of note that the behavior of trafficked American women was faulted more than the behavior of trafficked foreign women; this can also be interpreted as American women being blamed more for their trafficking situation than foreign women. Perhaps American women are thought to "know better," or the privileges associated with American citizenship make the idea of the victimization of American women to trafficking less plausible or acceptable. As the sample population was American students, the idea that an American woman could be trafficked was likely anxiety inducing.

However, American citizens have been trafficked; in particular, documentations of youth forced into prostitution have drawn the attention of many (e.g. Logan, Walker & Hunt, 2009; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Even though they are traditionally considered criminals and not victims, American women working in the sex industry typically enter prostitution between the ages of twelve and fourteen (Estes & Weiner, 2001), and the majority report experiencing physical and/or sexual abuse as children (e.g. Farley et al., 2004). Additional risk factors associated with entry into prostitution include homelessness, abandonment, substance addiction, and runaway behavior (e.g. Kramer & Berg, 2003). Marshall et al. (2010) found that street youth were at increased risk of survival sex work (i.e. sex in exchange for food or a place to sleep) and had higher HIV risk behaviors, particularly when they identified as sexual minorities.

As the involvement of American girls in prostitution is primarily pimp-controlled (Estes & Weiner, 2001), and the situation is oftentimes characterized by violence and economic

exploitation, that falls under the legal definition of human trafficking. A recent study by Raphael, Reichert, and Powers (2010) documented the coercive control strategies used by pimps (traffickers) on Chicago women and girls ($n = 100$). The average age of entry into prostitution was 16.3 years ($SD = 2.2$). Almost three-fourths (71%) of the sample reported being recruited into prostitution, and of these individuals, 75% reported violence at the hands of their pimp. Slapping was the most common physical offense (76%), followed by rape (52%) and punching (50.7%). The majority of the sample also experienced coercive control (59%), with verbal abuse the most common (85%). All the girls under age eighteen were considered trafficking victims under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, along with the women who experienced violence and coercion. Thus, the present study illustrates disengagement between the reality of American women and girls in the sex industry and participants' opinions.

Furthermore, the condition in the present study that received the least empathy was Domestic/Voluntary—American women working as prostitutes. The data suggest not only negative attitudes toward women in prostitution, but possible blaming reactions and bias concerning Americans trafficked into the sex industry in comparison to trafficked foreign women. Information campaigns and the media can do more to promote accurate information concerning the lives of sex workers, even when the sex workers are American citizens. More truthful information about the realities of sex work and its damaging impact on women, on the men who purchase sex, and on the community at large may influence attitudes, leading to increased empathy and less hostility and apathy. Finally, the reality of American citizens being exploited must receive due attention. Human trafficking is a global human rights issue, and the United States is not immune.

Education and consciousness-raising on the issue of human trafficking should begin early, as young children and teenagers are vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation within the United States (e.g. Logan, Walker & Hunt, 2009; Raphael, Reichert & Powers, 2010; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Children and teenagers should be a target population for awareness into this issue, particularly those from impoverished, unstable, and/or abusive families where neglect, homelessness, or abandonment is a significant risk. Education on this issue should begin no later than middle school and can be appropriated into pre-existing health or social studies classes.

The lack of knowledge and awareness concerning human trafficking among the Ohio college students who participated in the current study further highlights the necessity for increased education, especially with consideration to emerging data from the 2010 Ohio Trafficking in Persons Study Commission Report. The committee was tasked by Attorney General Richard Cordray to estimate the scope of human trafficking in Ohio. The report estimated that 3,437 foreign-born people in Ohio are at-risk for labor and/or sex trafficking. In regards to trafficked American youth, the report estimated 2,879 Ohio-born youth are at-risk for sex trafficking, and 1,078 have been trafficked into the sex trade within the past year. Moreover, the Ohio city of Toledo leads the nation for the number of traffickers produced and the number of victims recruited into the sex trade, based on US Census estimates and data from Northwest Ohio Innocence Lost Task Force (2009). As American college students are considered to be a advantaged group, with their presumed focus on the accumulation of knowledge and their access to many resources, the lack of knowledge and awareness among the current sample is disconcerting.

An exploration into the cultural variables that affect American citizens' attitudes and opinions of human trafficking victims is imperative. The United States is a highly individualistic

culture, with a strong focus on self-reliance, hard work, and personal responsibility; this is in contrast to more collectivist cultures, where there is a greater emphasis on interdependence between people and groups, cooperation, and social responsibility. The United States' classification as an individualistic country may be related to negative and blaming attitudes towards both sex trafficked women and women in prostitution—particularly, the deleterious judgment that a trafficked American woman is more liable for her abuse and exploitation than a trafficked Ukrainian woman. Future investigations into this issue are necessary, as the singular strategy of merely educating Americans on the disturbing, violent reality of human trafficking, in order to foster understanding and empathy, may not be sufficient to overcome time-honored cultural conventions.

The Attitudes Towards Prostitution Scale (ATPS) was developed to measure male attitudes and beliefs concerning sex workers (Sawyer & Metz, 2009). In their original sample of 1,001 men arrested for soliciting prostitutes, the mean score was 50 ($SD = 10$). Typical scores for males looking to buy sex were within one standard deviation of the mean (between 40 and 60); about 68% of scores fell within this range. To the author's knowledge, the present study was the first to utilize the ATPS among a normal (non-criminal, non-clinical) reference group. The mean score for the 215 people who completed the ATPS was 18.05 ($SD = 4.16$). The mean score for men ($n = 90$) was 18.98 ($SD = 4.36$), and the mean score for women ($n = 125$) was 17.38 ($SD = 3.88$). The maximum score was only 32. The scores among the current sample were significantly lower than the original group of men seeking to purchase sex, and this information can provide additional validity and reliability for the ATPS, as well as include a normal group for subscale interpretations.

In addition, the relation of other psychological and personality constructs to the ATPS provides more pilot evidence as to its validity. Those who endorsed more stereotyped, distorted views towards prostitutes also demonstrated significantly more hostile attitudes towards rape victims, greater endorsement of rape myths, less empathy for Ana, and less desire to help her. Thus, the ATPS seems to be predictive of more negative attitudes towards female victims and marginalized women generally, which is sensible. Future studies should further investigate the validity of this measure in relation to other constructs (e.g. hostile and benevolent sexism, male rape myths, modern racism, authoritarianism).

Also regarding the ATPS, the relation between endorsement of prostitution and a personal history of abuse was significant. This raises the issue of the extent to which support of prostitution among people who have been abused is a factor of their more common entry into the sex industry. As causation cannot be determined from correlational data, future studies can investigate the effect of attitudes towards prostitution on abused children who do or do not enter the sex industry.

Considering the involvement of certain religious and political groups in the anti-human trafficking movement, it is of note that religious activity was a significant predictor of empathy towards Ana, personal desire to help her, and less stereotyped attitudes towards prostitutes. However, involvement in one's political group or self-identification as a feminist was not significantly related to empathy or prosocial behavior. Future studies should examine this issue in depth. Though it is vital to foster empathy for victims universally, when the groups involved in anti-trafficking activism are almost exclusively of a religious bent, this has substantial implications for the normative framing of the issue and the resulting public policy.

The issue of human trafficking also falls within the domain of a vast, complex issue: migration. More women are migrating than ever before in history, generally from poor countries to rich countries, where they serve as nannies, maids, and sex workers—performing the “women’s work” of the north (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). A transnational gender revolution is occurring, and women have become independent breadwinners in many circumstances. However, as Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) explain, the mass movement of people has made the situation even more ripe for exploitation, with some vulnerable migrant women controlled by “criminal employers—their passports stolen, their mobility blocked, forced to work without pay in brothels or to provide sex along with cleaning and child-care services in affluent homes” (p. 3). Thus, an understanding of mass migration in general, and trafficking in particular, are extremely important for the public and should be explored further within the contexts of human rights and economic inequality.

Limitations

There are some limitations in the current study that need to be addressed. First, a convenience sample of young undergraduate students was used; participants were predominantly Caucasian, Christian, and from a middle class background. As the sample was restricted, external validity may be compromised, possibly limiting the generalizability of the findings. However, undergraduate students are a diverse group that can be assumed to represent the population, and exposure to media, as well as empathic feelings and prosocial behaviors, are experiences common to the population. Thus, the results may be reasonably expected to extrapolate beyond the sample and provide adequate representation of the constructs under consideration. Nevertheless, future research must include people of varied socioeconomic and ethnic

backgrounds and from non-student populations, along with larger sample sizes. A sample with less education might have even less knowledge concerning human trafficking. Future research should also include older individuals, who were nominally represented in the current study.

Additionally, some deficits existed within the current vignettes. Surveys of women in prostitution show that most women work under a “pimp” (Estes & Weiner, 2001). If a woman is not working independently as a sex worker, and instead suffers violence and coercion at the hands of a person who exploits her economically, that falls under the legal definition of human trafficking. The vignettes used portray a woman in an improbable scenario, and levels of empathy may vary if a woman in prostitution is working under more realistic circumstances, i.e. pimp-controlled. Future studies should investigate this manipulation. Additionally, the vignettes did not include men, who can be victims of trafficking, and victims were portrayed as white/Caucasian in all conditions. Future research should use vignettes describing male and minority victims.

Moreover, the portrayal of Ana as a young Slavic woman, desperate to immigrate to the United States and then trafficked for sexual exploitation, could be considered a stereotypical portrayal of a trafficking victim. The vignette did not incorporate the complexities inherent in such a decision, and in order to minimize length and bias, nominal details were included. The portrayal of Ana cannot be said to epitomize all trafficked women or all female migrants; it is purely the first representation, albeit oversimplified, in an emerging line of research on a complex and highly politicized topic.

Finally, it is widely acknowledged that self-report questionnaires are susceptible to response biases (e.g. Van de Mortel, 2008). Specifically, there is evidence that empathy questionnaires are positively associated with measures of social desirability (McGrath, Cann, &

Konopasky, 1998). Participants may alter their responses when they feel their answers are socially undesirable. Therefore, respondents in the current study may have self-reported uncharacteristically high levels of empathy and prosocial behaviors toward Ana. Future research should investigate empathy and prosocial behaviors toward human trafficking victims through alternative means, utilizing behavioral measures if possible. The inclusion of a social desirability scale in future studies would also be advantageous.

Conclusions

From Yemeni girls denied an education and forced into arranged marriages, to migrant South American workers forced into unpaid agricultural labor in the southeastern United States, to little boys in Ghana trafficked to work in Lake Volta's fishing communities, people throughout the world are exploited for immense profit. The suffering and trauma of trafficking victims cannot be underestimated, as trafficking is not a single crime, but a collection of violations over a prolonged period. It is brutalization, deception, and exploitation that is not acute, but chronic and systematic, and encompasses the most horrible crimes known to humanity—including torture, rape, murder, kidnapping, and “the willful destruction of the human mind and spirit” (Bales, 2005, p. 6). For those few individuals who can escape their situation of humiliation and servitude, there is adamant need for rehabilitation and compassionate care. However, the establishment of programs to rescue and restore victims of trafficking requires an educated, empathic populace and strong government policy.

As the aforementioned data reveal, the American public's knowledge of human trafficking and its extent in the United States remains limited. The majority of participants endorsed myths and misconceptions concerning human trafficking, even though empathy for victims was high. Public awareness of human trafficking, on both a local and global level, must increase, as preventative efforts are dependent on the engagement of all citizens. The endorsement of rape myths was widespread, and along with stereotyped attitudes towards women in prostitution, was strongly predictive of decreased empathy and decreased prosocial responding towards both sex trafficked women and women sex workers. Although slavery and human trafficking are complex, widespread human rights abuses, factors such as increased education, heightened awareness, empathy for victims, and an emphasis on societal

responsibility to end injustice and exploitation may combine to combat the global and local scourge of modern slavery.

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Participant Demographic Form

Age: (student enters number)

Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Other

Year in School:

- 1 (freshman)
- 2 (sophomore)
- 3 (junior)
- 4 (senior)
- 5 + (senior)

Are you an international student?

- Yes
- No

How would you rate your socio-economic background?

- Low socio-economic status ("lower class")
- Medium-low socioeconomic status ("lower-middle class")
- Medium socio-economic status ("middle class")
- Medium-High socio-economic status ("upper-middle class")
- High socio-economic status ("higher class")

Ethnicity:

- White
- Black (Non-Hispanic)
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Hispanic
- Multiple Ethnicities
- Other

Relationship Status:

- Single
- In a relationship, not married
- In multiple relationships
- Married
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widow/widower

Religious/Spiritual Beliefs:

Christian

Protestant

Catholic

Orthodox

Non-denominational

Islam

Hindu

Buddhist

Jewish

Atheist

Agnostic

Other (please specify)_____

How active are you with your faith/religious community, on a scale from 1 to 5?

Not at all active (1) → Very active (5)

N/A

What is your political orientation on a 1 to 5 scale, with 1 being “very conservative” and 5 being “very liberal”?

Very Conservative (1)

Conservative (2)

Moderate (3)

Liberal (4)

Very Liberal (5)

Would you self-identify as a feminist?

Yes

No

How many times have you volunteered your time (e.g. worked at a soup kitchen or shelter, helped with community clean-up, donated blood, tutored children, helped for a political cause) in the last:

Month?

0

1

2

3

4

5+

Year?

0

1-5

5-10

11-15

16-20

20+

How many times have you donated money in the past year?

0

1-3

4-7

7-10

10+

Have you ever been a victim of physical violence or abuse?

No

Yes

Have you ever been a victim of sexual violence or abuse?

No

Yes

Have you ever been a victim of emotional/psychological violence or abuse?

No

Yes

Do you have any close friends or family members that are sexual assault survivors?

No

Yes

Do you have any experience in prostitution?

No

Yes

Do you have any experience in pornography?

No

Yes

Do you have any experience in exotic dancing/stripping?

No

Yes

ARVS

Below you will find various statements regarding rape. Most likely, you will strongly agree with some statements and strongly disagree with others. Sometimes you will feel more neutral. Please mark the degree to which you agree with each of the following statements on a 5-point scale, with 0 as “disagree strongly” and 4 as “agree strongly.” Make sure to mark a number for every statement.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Disagree strongly | | Neutral | | Agree strongly |
- 1) A raped woman is a less desirable woman.
 - 2) The extent of the woman’s resistance should be the major factor in determining if a rape has occurred.
 - 3) A raped woman is usually an innocent victim.
 - 4) Women often claim rape to protect their reputations.
 - 5) “Good” girls are as likely to be raped as “bad” girls.
 - 6) Women who have had prior sexual relationships should not complain about rape.
 - 7) Women do not provoke rape by their appearance or behavior.
 - 8) Intoxicated women are usually willing to have sexual relations.
 - 9) It would do some women good to be raped.
 - 10) Even women who feel guilty about engaging in premarital sex are not likely to falsely claim rape.
 - 11) Most women secretly desire to be raped.
 - 12) Any female may be raped.
 - 13) Women who are raped while accepting rides from strangers get what they deserve.

- 14) Many women invent rape stories if they learn they are pregnant.
- 15) Men, not women, are responsible for rape.
- 16) A woman who goes out alone at night puts herself in a position to be raped.
- 17) Many women claim rape if they have consented to sexual relations but have changed their minds afterwards.
- 18) Accusations of rape by bartenders, exotic dancers, and prostitutes should be viewed with suspicion.
- 19) A woman should not blame herself for rape.
- 20) A healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really tries.
- 21) Many women who report rape are lying because they are angry or want revenge on the accused.
- 22) Women who wear short skirts or tight blouses are not inviting rape.
- 23) Women put themselves in situations in which they are likely to be sexually assaulted because they have an unconscious wish to be raped.
- 24) Sexually experienced women are not really damaged by rape.
- 25) In most cases when a woman was raped, she deserved it.

IRI

Below are statements describing aspects of a person's personality. Please rate the degree to which each of the following statements apply to you, with 0 as "does not describe me well" and 5 as "describes me very well." Make sure to mark a number for every statement.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Does not describe me well			Describes me somewhat		Describes me very well

- 1) I daydream and fantasize, with some regularity, about things that might happen to me.
- 2) I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
- 3) I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view.
- 4) Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.
- 5) I really get involved with the feelings of the characters in a novel.
- 6) In emergency situations, I feel apprehensive and ill-at-ease.
- 7) I am usually objective when I watch a movie or play, and I don't often get completely caught up in it.
- 8) I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.
- 9) When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.
- 10) I sometimes feel helpless when I am in the middle of a very emotional situation.
- 11) I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.
- 12) Becoming extremely involved in a good book or movie is somewhat rare for me.
- 13) When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm.
- 14) Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.

- 15) If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.
- 16) After seeing a play or movie, I have felt as though I were one of the characters.
- 17) Being in a tense emotional situation scares me.
- 18) When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.
- 19) I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies.
- 20) I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
- 21) I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.
- 22) I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.
- 23) When I watch a good movie, I can very easily put myself in the place of a leading character.
- 24) I tend to lose control during emergencies.
- 25) When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his/her shoes" for a while.
- 26) When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how I would feel if the events in the story were happening to me.
- 27) When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces.
- 28) Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

BJW

Below you will find various statements. Most likely, you will strongly agree with some statements and strongly disagree with others. Sometimes you will feel more neutral. Please read each statement carefully and decide to what extent you personally agree or disagree with it. Please do this by marking a number on a scale ranging from 1 as “strongly disagree” to 6 as “strongly agree”. Make sure to mark a number for every statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly disagree		Neither agree nor disagree			Strongly agree
1) I think basically the world is a just place.					
2) I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve.					
3) I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice.					
4) I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices.					
5) I firmly believe that injustices in all areas of life (e.g., professional, family, politics) are the exception rather than the rule.					
6) I think people try to be fair when making important decisions.					
7) I believe that, by and large, I deserve what happens to me.					
8) I am usually treated fairly.					
9) I believe that I usually get what I deserve.					
10) Overall, events in my life are just.					
11) In my life, injustice is the exception rather than the rule.					
12) I believe that most of the things that happen in my life are fair.					
13) I think that important decisions that are made concerning me are usually just.					

IRMA

Below you will find various statements regarding rape. Most likely, you will strongly agree with some statements and strongly disagree with others. Sometimes you will feel more neutral. Please read each statement carefully and decide to what extent you personally agree or disagree with it. Please rate your level of agreement with the following items using a 7-point scale, where 1= *not at all agree* and 7= *very much agree*. Make sure to mark a number for every statement.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree

Strongly agree

- 1) If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.
- 2) Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real "turn-on."
- 3) When men rape, it is because of their strong desire for sex.
- 4) If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex.
- 5) Women who are caught having an illicit affair sometimes claim that it was rape.
- 6) Newspapers should not release the name of a rape victim to the public.
- 7) Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and "changed their minds" afterwards.
- 8) Many women secretly desire to be raped.
- 9) Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.
- 10) Usually, it is only women who do things like hang out in bars and sleep around that are raped.

- 11) Most rapists are not caught by the police.
- 12) If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.
- 13) Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.
- 14) Rape isn't as big a problem as some feminists would like people to think.
- 15) When women go around wearing low-cut tops or short skirts, they're just asking for trouble.
- 16) Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.
- 17) A rape probably didn't happen if the woman has no bruises or marks.
- 18) Many women find being forced to have sex very arousing.
- 19) If a woman goes home with a man she doesn't know, it is her own fault if she is raped.
- 20) Rapists are usually sexually frustrated individuals.
- 21) All women should have access to self-defense classes.
- 22) It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.
- 23) Some women prefer to have sex forced on them so they don't have to feel guilty about it.
- 24) If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it a rape.
- 25) When a woman is a sexual tease, eventually she is going to get into trouble.
- 26) Being raped isn't as bad as being mugged and beaten.
- 27) Rape is unlikely to happen in the woman's own familiar neighborhood.
- 28) In reality, women are almost never raped by their boyfriends.
- 29) Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.
- 30) When a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realize that the woman is resisting.
- 31) A lot of women lead a man on, and then they cry rape.
- 32) It is preferable that a female police officer conduct the questioning when a woman reports a rape.

- 33) A lot of times, women who claim they were raped just have emotional problems.
- 34) If a woman doesn't physically resist sex—even when protesting verbally—it really can't be considered rape.
- 35) Rape almost never happens in the woman's own home.
- 36) A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen.
- 37) When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was ambiguous.
- 38) If a woman isn't a virgin, then it shouldn't be a big deal if her date forces her to have sex.
- 39) Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.
- 40) This society should devote more effort to preventing rape.
- 41) A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.
- 42) Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control.
- 43) A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the first date is implying that she wants to have sex.
- 44) Many women actually enjoy sex after the guy uses a little force.
- 45) If a woman claims to have been raped but has no bruises or scrapes, she probably shouldn't be taken too seriously.

ATPS

Below are statements regarding prostitution. Most likely, you will strongly agree with some statements and strongly disagree with others. Sometimes you will feel more neutral. Please read each statement carefully and decide to what extent you personally agree or disagree with it.

Please mark the degree to which you agree with the following statements on a 4-point scale, with 1 as “strongly disagree” and 4 as “strongly agree.” Make sure to mark a number for every statement.

1	2	3	4
Strongly disagree			Strongly agree

- 1) There is nothing wrong with prostitution.
- 2) If I were thinking about getting married, I would not mind marrying a prostitute.
- 3) Prostitution should be legalized.
- 4) Prostitutes make a lot of money.
- 5) Prostitution should be decriminalized.
- 6) It would be okay if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute.
- 7) Women are prostitutes because they want to be. It is their choice.
- 8) Prostitutes enjoy their work.
- 9) Prostitutes genuinely like men.
- 10) Most men go to prostitutes once in a while.

Questions Following Vignettes

Please rate the following on a scale from 1 to 5.

1) How would you rate Ana's quality of life?

1 = very bad, horrible 3 = average 5 = very good, excellent

2) How much empathy or compassion do you feel towards Ana?

1 = none; 3 = an average amount 5 = a great amount

3) How similar do you feel to Ana?

1 = not at all similar; 3 = moderately similar; 5 = extremely similar/identical

4) To what extent is Ana's character and personality responsible for her situation?

1 = not at all responsible; 5 = entirely responsible

5) To what extent was Ana's behavior responsible for her situation?

1 = not at all responsible; 5 = entirely responsible

6) If a man wanted to purchase sexual services from Ana, to what extent is he morally responsible for knowing the conditions of her involvement in prostitution?

1 = not at all responsible; 5 = entirely responsible

- 7) If a man wanted to purchase sexual services from Ana, to what extent should he be legally responsible for knowing the conditions of her involvement in prostitution?

1=not at all responsible; 5=entirely responsible

- 8) To what extent do you think people in situations similar to Ana's are involved in prostitution in the United States?

1 = none; 5 = a great amount

- 9) To what extent do you think people in situations similar to Ana's are involved in pornography in the United States?

1 = none; 5 = a great amount

- 10) To what extent do you think people in situations similar to Ana's are working in strip clubs in the United States?

1 = none; 5 = a great amount

- 11) If Ana wanted to stop her participation in this, how much would you want to help?

1 = not at all; 5 = a great amount

- 12) If you wanted to help Ana stop her involvement in these activities, what would you be willing to do? For each item, specify how likely you are to help in that capacity.

1 = not at all likely; 5 = very likely

Donate money

Volunteer your time in some capacity

Become engaged politically

Organize a service group

Talk to other people about the problem

Alert law enforcement or social services

Personally offer food, clothing, or resources to Ana

13) If Ana wanted to stop her participation in these activities, do you feel the United States government has an obligation to help her?

1 = no, not at all; 5 = yes, very much

14) For each item, please specify in which ways the government should act.

1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree

The government should:

Offer her citizenship

Offer her medical treatment

Offer her psychological services

Offer her food, clothing, and basic necessities

Offer her a temporary place to stay

Offer her help and protection unconditionally, for as long as necessary

Offer her help/protection if she agrees to aid law enforcement in

the prosecution of the people who purchased sex from her

Offer her help/protection if she agrees to aid law enforcement in

the prosecution of Robert

Return her to her country immediately

Arrest her for prostitution

15) How do you feel regarding the following statements on a 0 to 4 scale, with 0 as “I have no problem” and 4 as “I have a major problem”?

If you yourself pay money to have sex

If your romantic partner pays money to have sex

Knowledge of Human Trafficking Questionnaire (KHTQ)

Have you ever heard about human trafficking?

Yes

No

Depending on your knowledge regarding the following statements, please mark each sentence as “True” or “False.” If you have no knowledge regarding the statement, please mark “Don’t Know.”

- 1) Human trafficking is another term for the smuggling of people.
- 2) The majority of people who are trafficked worldwide are women and children.
- 3) Trafficked people come from poor, rural villages.
- 4) Human trafficking is basically an issue of illegal immigration.
- 5) Trafficked people are not criminals.
- 6) Human trafficking only affects developing countries.
- 7) Human trafficking is a not serious public concern in the United States.
- 8) Human trafficking is a human rights violation.
- 9) Trafficked people can be found in the hospitality (e.g. restaurant, hotel) industry.
- 10) A trafficked person usually asks for help and assistance if identified by law enforcement.
- 11) In order for a person to be considered trafficked, they must be forced across international borders.
- 12) Trafficked people are often traumatized by their experiences.
- 13) A situation of trafficking requires physical restraint, bodily harm, or physical force on the part of the trafficker.
- 14) Human trafficking is a form of slavery.
- 15) There are specific world regions that are disproportionately affected by trafficking.
- 16) There have been documented cases of human trafficking in Columbus, Ohio.
- 17) Sex trafficking contributes to the rise of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection.

Please mark the answer that best corresponds to your feelings regarding the following statements.

- 1) What do you think about the circumstances of foreign women in the US who are working in the sex industry?

The women are working willingly

The women are working reluctantly

The women are forced to work

- 2) How should foreign women who work in the US sex industry be treated?

This industry should be strictly regulated

The women should be protected and supported

There is no particular need to regulate this industry

- 3) What is your awareness of policies regarding human trafficking in the US?

I know them well

I know them somewhat

I don't know much about them

I know nothing about them

Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in our study today. We appreciate your time and interest in our research. This study was specifically designed to gather information on what Americans know about human trafficking, a form of slavery, and Americans' attitudes towards sex trafficking victims. We are also interested in the relationships between personality traits such as empathy, prosocial behaviors such as volunteer work, and people's responses to our vignettes.

Much scholarship has identified human trafficking as a serious human rights violation as well as a public health concern. However, there is little data on this important topic, and this is the first research study collecting information on Americans' attitudes towards trafficked people and public awareness of trafficking in general. You have aided in an important way and have helped contribute to our knowledge of empathy and awareness on human trafficking in the United States. We are grateful for your help. That is why you were not informed beforehand that this study was collecting information specific to human trafficking; instead, you were told that this study was collecting information on sex work and prostitution. This deception was necessary for us to accurately gauge your knowledge and awareness of trafficking. If you would like to have your data removed from the study now that you know deception was involved, please mark the box at the bottom of the page.

If you would like more information on human trafficking, including ways to participate in the anti-trafficking movement, there are many resources. Comprehensive educational, training, and resource packets are available at info@freetheslaves.net. The Central Ohio Rescue & Restore Coalition works locally to fight human trafficking; their website is www.centralohiorescueandrestore.org/. Additionally, there is a student group at OSU called "End Slavery Now" that works to fight trafficking and slavery, and their website is

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/endslaverynow/>.

The hotline for the National Human Trafficking Resource Center is 1.888.3737.888. Other useful resources are the US State Department's Trafficking in Person's Report and the publications from the United Nation's Office on Drugs and Crime.

For additional questions, concerns, or complaints about this study, you may contact Dr. Sarah Boysen at boysen.1@osu.edu or 614-292-7795. For questions about your rights as a participant or to discuss other study-related concerns with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact Ms. Sandra Meadows in the Office of Responsible Research Practices at 1-800-678-6251.

If you would like to contact the author of the study, Kristin E. Silver may be reached at kristinsilver@yahoo.com.

If you are interested in receiving counseling as a result of participation in this study or any other issues, please contact OSU Counseling and Consultation Services, located at the Younkin Success Center, at 614-292-5766. Their website is <http://www.ccs.ohio-state.edu/page/students/>.

Another resource in the OSU community is the Student Wellness Center, located in room B130 in the RPAC. Their phone number is 614-292-4527 and their website is <http://swc.osu.edu/>.

For information related to sexual assault and recovery, there are many resources for survivors. Two helpful sites are

http://dps.osu.edu/police/campus_safety/reporting_sexual_assault.php and <http://swc.osu.edu/sexual-violence-education-and-support-sves/sexual-assault/>.

Please refrain from discussing the details of this study with any of your colleagues who

may participate. As you can imagine, if people know the purpose of the study ahead of time, it will change their responses. Thank you again for your participation in this important study!